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ABSTRACT

Newspaper and magazine coverage of the Spanish-American War represents the apex and the eventual eclipse of the hand sketch artist as news-gatherer and simultaneously the birth of the modern-day photojournalist. Perhaps of even wider impact was the strong new role of visual reportage. The daily barrage of drawings and photographs by William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer, as well as the extensive coverage by "Leslie's," "Harper's," "Collier's," and other magazines, fired up the country's patriotic outrage. During the circulation battle between Hearst and Pulitzer, these publishers discovered the power of pictures not just to entertain but to mold public opinion. (Fifty-one notes and 18 figures (illustrations) are included.) (Author/RS)

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Abstract

Washington D.C., 1989, AEJMC
Visual Communications Division

Spanish-American War
"You Furnish the Pictures, I'll Furnish the War"

By
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Sidney Kobre
Betsy Brill

During the Spanish-American War, American publications reproduced not only the sketch artists' drawings but also actual half-tone photos. This paper examines how newspaper and magazine coverage of the war represents the apex and eventual eclipse of the hand artist as news-gatherer and simultaneously the birth of the modern-day photojournalist.

Perhaps of even wider impact was the strong new role of visual reportage.

The daily barrage of drawings and photographs by Hearst and Pulitzer, as well as the extensive coverage by Leslie's, Harper's and Collier's and other magazines, fired up the country's patriotic outrage. Some historians have even said the war would never have taken place had Hearst and Pulitzer not been in their own ferocious battle for circulation.

During that circulation drive, these publishers discovered the power of pictures not just to entertain but to mold public opinion — a discovery few politicians today would dispute.

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Spanish-American War

"You Furnish the Pictures, I'll Furnish the War"

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Part I

THE CUBAN CONFLICT: SKETCH ARTISTS EXAGGERATE THE STORY

Within two weeks of artist Frederic Remington's arrival in Cuba to report on Spanish atrocities for the New York Journal, he is said to have dispatched the following telegram to Journal publisher William Randolph Hearst:

"Everything is quiet. . . There will be no war. I wish to return." Remington.

Hearst replied: "Please remain. You furnish the pictures, and I'll furnish the war."[1]

Although Hearst denied the quote to his dying day, much of the credit for the Spanish-American War belongs, in fact, to the illustrations of Remington and other artists as well as the photographs of Jimmy Hare and J.C. Hemment.

• • •

Other authors have analyzed the Spanish-American War from the standpoint of reporting, but this paper focuses on the sketch artists and photographers who played an integral role in arousing public opinion and leading the United States into the war against Spain. The combination of words and pictures led the United States to declare war.

Technically, the Spanish-American War was fought over the explosion of a U.S. battleship. But the stage had been set by a deteriorating economy and internal conflict within the Spanish colony of Cuba — problems that came to be profusely illustrated by New York's powerful newspapers.

By the late 1800s, the island was caught in the grips of a deep depression[2] — caused in part by U.S. farmers who had persuaded Congress to pass a sugar import tax, cutting off a primary market for Cuba's main export. The island's economy collapsed.[3]

Although it was American protectionism that aggravated the island's economic depression, Cubans blamed their troubles on the ruling Spanish government and began rumbling against their mother country as early as 1895. When rumblings became revolt, the Spanish responded with brutal retaliation.[4]

In 1896, Spain named Don Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau governor of Cuba and captain general of the Spanish armies there. A man with a reputation for brutality in other Spanish colonies, he issued orders upon his arrival to require the Cubans to gather in camps near military headquarters — a move that put the population under the complete

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[1]James Creelman, On the Great Highway (Boston: Lothrop Publishing, 1901) p. 178.

[2]Walter Millis, The Martial Spirit: A Study of Our War with Spain (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Co. 1931) p. 23.

[3] Samuel D. Morison, Oxford History of the American People (New York, Oxford Univ. Press 1965) p. 800. Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, Rise of American Civilization (New York: Macmillan, 1930) pp. 368-369.

[4] Richard M. Current, Frank Freidel, J. Harry Williams, A History of the United States Since 1865. (New York: Knopf, 1969) p. 246.

control of the military.[5] Of the 1.4 million Cubans on the island, more than 400,000 were forced into these camps,[6] where food, housing, medical and sanitary facilities were woefully inadequate.

Both Spaniards and rebels alike undertook a systematic campaign of destruction. Fields were laid waste, livestock driven away and plantation houses and sugar mills burned. Soon, food became scarce in the camps of the interior. Suffering was intense. More than 110,000 Cubans died in the camps.[7]

Soon after General Weyler began his program of abuse in Cuba, four New York papers — the World, the Sun, the Journal and the Herald — sensed a story and assigned artists, photographers and correspondents to the island. But the World and later the Journal chased the Cuban story in a way no paper before had ever undertaken.

Under the headline "Scene of Torture in Cuba," the World's photographers and correspondents furnished evidence, as they described it, of the "pitiless starvation of women and children." Purportedly based on photographs taken among survivors in the camps, harrowing drawings by C. Mortimer haunted the World's readers. One picture showed 14-year-old Regla Rodriquez, starved to a weight of 40 pounds. In the drawing, the child's emaciated ribs protruded from her half-clothed body.[8] The illustration pulled at the heartstrings of the American reader. (See Fig. A.)

American correspondents accused the Spanish not just of starving the women and children but of outright brutality. An article in the World described this scene: "A Spanish soldier asked one Senora Martinez the location of her husband. She replied, 'I can't tell.' 'I'll make you,' said the Spaniard, and he proceeded to tear off her clothing. He then questioned her anew, and receiving no answer from the woman, who was crying hysterically, he unsheathed his sword and fell to cutting and slashing his victim, until her blood covered the floor and she fainted in a corner. Her shrieks and entreaties only served to provoke the brutal laughter of the soldiery. . . ."

A drawing, based on sketches and photographs supposedly "made on the the spot," graphically illustrated the story. (See Fig. B.) The same page also contained drawings of a woman and child facing a Spanish firing squad, a Cuban being tortured, and two disembodied heads hanging from a door key.[9] The illustrations along with the prose fed readers' growing fury[10] about the mistreatment of people only 90 miles from American shores. Appearing day after day in Pulitzer's World, some of the illustrations filled a complete page, and a few even ran on page one.

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[5]Charles H. Brown, The Correspondents' War (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1967) p. 27.

[6] John M. Blum, Bruce Catton, Edmund S. Morgan, Arthur M. Schlessinger, Kenneth M. Stamp, C. Vann Woodward, The National Experience (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1963) pp. 502-503.

[7] Marcus Wilkerson, Public Opinion and the Spanish-American War: A Study in War Propaganda, (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1932) p. 40.

[8] The World, Sunday, Nov. 14, 1897 p. 4.

[9] The World, June 3, 1896, p. 7.

[10] Millis, p. 50 & 62. By this time, the Republicans had written the independence of Cuba into their platform, and Congress some months earlier had passed a resolution that "should be offered by the President to the Spanish Government for the independence of Cuba, April 6, 1896."

SCENES OF TORTURE IN CUBA.

World Staff Correspondents and Photographers Furnish Fresh Evidence of the Pitiless Starvation of Women and Children.

DIRECT RESULT OF WEYLER'S BARBAROUS ORDER.

Over Half of the Concentrados Have Perished and the Remainder Are Fast Following Them—This Was Foretold by The World Over a Year Ago.

HAVANA, Cuba (by way of Key West), Nov. 13.—More than one

WORLD PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN AMONG THE 200,000 SURVIVORS OF THE 400,000 CUBAN NON-COMBATANTS CONDEMNED TO DEATH BY WEYLER'S ORDER.

15 year old girl in La Dacotá. Soldiers ate most of their food and when they were forced to abandon the remainder by Weyler's proclamation, family was very prosperous.

ANOTHER "REBEL."

Regla Rodriguez—14 years old, weight about 40 pounds. Lived in Concordia near Matanzas. Child is in perfect health except for hunger. She has lost father and mother and parents, all slowly starving.

Felipe—Doesn't know other name. Found begging in Market in Guanabacoa. About 6 years old. He said—"I don't like Spanish soldiers. They killed the dogs and all the good potatoes. My father died in the street."

"Dacotá Boy"

C. MORTIMER

Hundred thousand people have lately died from hunger in the western two-thirds of Cuba.

Every small Cuban town is a cesspool of disease, while the horrible sanitary conditions of the Cuban seaports threaten the United States with more damage than the cost of a war.

These things are not wild fancies; they are sad, awful, measuring

Santo Domingo—Out of 5,000 inhabitants of all classes thirty-eight died daily.

Nueva Paza—Out of about 2,500 concentrados 90 died in the month of October.

Havana Pinar del Rio Matanzas Santa Clara Morrovallio and Sunrisos Chico show by Spanish official figures, 37,000 deaths, of these three-fourths were concentrados

LOIE FULLER NOT CRAZY.

Paris Shocked by the Rumors

was easy and regularity of movement. There was very appreciably less jolting and rocking than on an ordinary steam train, and so much was this so that it was possible to converse without raising the voice [illegible] almost in low tones. These effects are due to the fact that the propulsion is set, as is the case of locomotives now in use, by the

Figure A.

The World. Sunday Nov. 14, 1897 — page 69. Purportedly based on photographs taken among survivors in Cuban camps, C. Mortimer's harrowing drawings of starving children haunted the World's readers.

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STAB AND SHOOT WOMEN

Brutal Murders in Cuba by Col. Molina's Spanish Guerillas.

A WIFE DRUGGED AND SLASHED.

Unprotected Mother and Her Babe Killed Because Relatives Deserts Themselves.

TWO MEN SHOULD FOR COMPLAINING.

Whole Bands Hung to a Grocer's Door by Soldiers—Man's Eyes Torn Out.

(Special Correspondence of The World.)

MACAGUA, near Colon, Province of Matanzas, Cuba, May 15.—Reports have reached here of a number of recent unwarranted murders and outrages by bands of Col. Louis Molina de Olivera's Spanish guerillas.

Belisario Medarse, of this town, relates the particulars of a Sunday attack upon a Cuban woman.

"The guerillas of Colon," Mr. Medarse says, "while on their way to Calimete, stopped at the house of Matias Martinez, a native of the County Matanzas, who had been forced to enlist in a body of insurgents under the command of Juan Pablo Rubio."

"The Spaniards stopped at his house and the officer in command inquired from Senora Martinez the whereabouts of her husband. 'Indeed, I can't tell,' she replied.

"'I'll make you,' said the Spaniard, and he proceeded to take off her clothing. He then questioned her anew, and, receiving no answer from the woman who was crying hysterically, he unsheathed his sword and fell to cutting and slashing his victim, until her blood covered the floor and she fainted in a corner. Her shrieks and entreaties only served to provoke the brutal laughter of the soldiery."

Mr. Medarse says he laid the facts in writing before Col. Molina. The chief replied by sending a squad to arrest and shoot the complainant. His brother, Bruno, a tobacconist, heard of the order in time to inform Belisario. The brothers fled and joined the rebel force of Clodio Garcia.

Col. Molina left his headquarters a few days after the attack on Senora Martinez and marched his troops south to effect a junction with Gen. Maiguiri's corps. The Spaniards were attacked and forced to retreat by a Cuban band. In making a detour to avoid the Cubans, Col. Molina's command arrived at a shanty occupied by an old farmer, his two sons, a daughter-in-law and three grandchildren. An eye witness of the tragedy says:

"At the approach of the soldiers the men took refuge in the jungle, carrying off the two oldest children, and only the daughter-in-law with her baby remained in charge of the house. She hoped her air and the sight of a child but six months old would protect them from harm and spare the house.

"Col. Molina halted his command by the roadside and, dismounting, walked into the house.

"'Where are the men?' he demanded. 'I have been fired upon by your people at Arroyito, and I intend to send a detachment to surprise them at camp to-night, so I need guides. Where are the rascals that live here?'

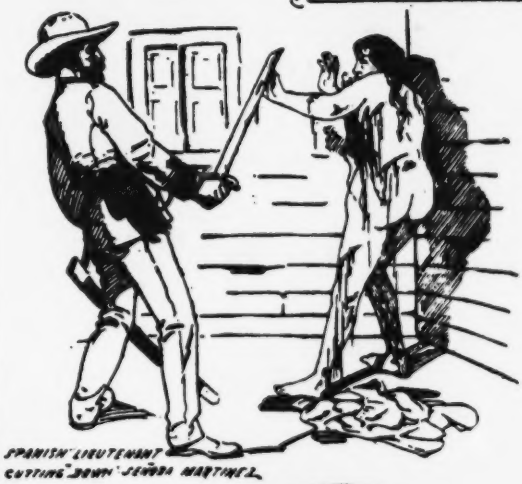
"'They are out, sir,' was the trembling response.

"'Are they? Well, you will guide a squad of my men to their hiding-place and bring them quick. No trifling.'

"'I have not the least idea where they can be,' sobbed the woman.

"'Haven't you? Very well. Ho, there! a corporal and four men.'

SPANISH ATROCITIES IN CUBA



Recent victims of bands of Col. Louis Molinda de Olivera's guerrillas.
(FROM SKETCHES AND PHOTOGRAPHS MADE ON THE SPOT.)

of cutting off the top stalks, which in the part eaten by cattle, proceeded to destroy the cane just for the fun of the thing.

He approached and remonstrated, but the sergeant ordered him to "shut up," adding that almost anything was too good for a cursed rebel.

Fuentes went to the town and complained to the lieutenant in command of the garrison. The officer flew into a rage and ordered him out of his presence, threatening to use a horsewhip. Fuentes told him he intended calling on Col. Molina and reporting what had happened.

The command was a few days later ordered to advance and protect the plantation "Espana," which the insurgents had announced they would burn.

As they approached Barrio de Oliva the guerillas sacked a tavern known as the Noy, indulging freely in spirits. On entering the place the lieutenant marched directly to Fuentes's home and made the two men walk out. He accused them of harboring an insurgent chief named Mana. Fuentes, knowing the cause of the accusation thought it useless to defend himself. The officer then bade the soldiers punish them as they deserved.

A score of machetes flashed and in a few moments the prisoners were a mass of blood and rags. A drunken fancy seized the murderers. Cutting off the heads of their victims they hung them to the key of an grocer's door, while

DEFIANT SILVER SENATE.

Adopts a Populist Resolution Forbidding Bonds to Protect the Treasury.

CUTS OFF THE LAST RESOURCE.

"May God Save the Country," Says Hill, After the Vote Was Announced.

BUT IT WON'T PASS THE HOUSE.

And Even if It Did It Could Not Be Passed Over a Prompt Veto by Cleveland.

not open its mints to the free coinage of silver without becoming a monometallic nation; that it cannot take this step without an agreement with other nations," said Mr. Allison, "and I will continue to vote against the free coinage of silver at 16 to 1 by this country alone."

Mr. Chandler declared that the President and Secretary of the Treasury were men of sterling personal integrity, standing as the representatives of the credit of the Government. No one charges a misappropriation or embezzlement of the

Is the complete list of Democrats, about all silver men, who voted for this grab

Bankhead, Ala.	McCulloch, Ark.
Berry, Ky.	McMillin, Tenn.
Bock, La.	Meliar, Ark.
Catchings, Miss.	Meyer, La.
Clarke, Ala.	Money, Miss.
Cobb, Mo.	Ogden, La.
Cooper, Fla.	Owens, Ky.
Cooper, Tex.	Price, La.
Culberson, Tex.	Robertson, La.
Cummings, N. Y.	Sparkman, Fla.
Deasy, Miss.	Stark, S. C.
Dinsmore, Ark.	Talbert, S. C.
Elliot, Va.	Terry, Ark.
Elliott, S. C.	Turner, Ga.
Fitzgerald, Mass.	Tyler, Va.

Figure B.

The World. June 3, 1896 — page 7. Drawings, based on sketches and photographs supposedly "made on the the spot," graphically illustrate the alleged brutality of the Spanish. In the large drawing at the top of the page, a woman and child face a Spanish firing squad. Below that, a Cuban is tortured by a Spanish soldier. In the drawing to the right, the Spanish soldier slashes a woman who would not reveal the whereabouts of her husband. In the final picture, two disembodied heads hang from a door key.

Journal publisher William Randolph Hearst also recognized the circulation-driving value of graphic pictures of molested Cuban women and starving children. Hearst commissioned Frederic Remington, the famous artist of Western scenes, to travel to Cuba and document the atrocities there. On January 24, 1897, Remington's first sketches appeared in the New York Journal. They took up all the first page and most of the second. The third page was devoted to a single drawing, accompanied by the following caption, written by Remington: "The acts of the terrible savages. . . employed by the Spanish, pass all understanding by civilized man. . . The treatment of women is unspeakable."[11]

Thus, Hearst and his arch-rival Pulitzer fueled their readers' emotions. These emotions would propel America into war with Spain nearly a year later. Pulitzer and Hearst were engaged then in a bitter fight for circulation in New York, pushing both papers to extremes to get news and features that aroused the public — and sold hundreds of thousands of papers daily.[12]

Although both the Journal and the World claimed all of their pictures were based on photos or sketches "made on the spot," the claim was probably exaggerated. In fact, few professional photographers were working in Cuba before the war began. And the film available then was far too slow for taking indoor action pictures. Nor was flash powder readily available at that time. Even sketch artists could not possibly have been in so many places at so many key moments. In fact, Spain had evicted most of the artists and writers from the island. The banned correspondents set up shop in Key West, Florida, interviewing refugees fleeing Cuba. Sketches and stories more likely were based on second- or third-hand accounts of an event.

The *Olivette* incident is a good example. On February 12, 1897, Richard Harding Davis, a reporter for Hearst's Journal, wrote of refined young American women being stripped and searched by brutal Spaniards. According to the account, three times the young ladies were disrobed and searched for secret letters they were suspected of carrying. The last search, Davis reported, even took place on an American ship, the *U.S.S. Olivette*. As if the story were not sensational enough, the artist Remington provided a five-column drawing showing a nude young woman standing among several Spanish officers who were searching her clothing.[13] (See Fig. C.)

Joseph Pulitzer, Hearst's rival at the New York World, was so provoked by the Journal's scoop that he located the young woman. She denied the Journal's story. The young woman confirmed she had been disrobed, but by a police matron in the privacy of a stateroom on the *U.S.S. Olivette*. Reporters said the drawing was a figment of Remington's imagination. Remington, in fact, had based the sketch on second-hand descriptions from Davis's report.[14] When the incident occurred, in fact, Remington had returned to his home in New Rochelle, New York. The fabrication, however, had no adverse effect on the continuing circulation climb of either the World or the Journal.

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[11] The New York Journal, Jan. 24, 1897, pp. 1-3.

[12] Sidney Kobre, Development of American Journalism (Dubuque, Iowa: WM. C. Brown, 1969) p. 496.

[13] New York Journal, Feb. 12.

[14] Douglas Allen, Frederic Remington and the Spanish-American War (New York: Crown Publishers, 1971) p. 24. The New York Journal printed the following retraction by Richard Harding Davis: "I will state again that the

Figure C.

New York Journal. **Feb. 12, 1897.** To illustrate purported searches of American women aboard the *U.S.S. Olivette*, Frederic Remington provided a five-column drawing showing a nude young woman standing among several Spanish officers who were searching her clothing. The scene was later disproved by the opposition paper, the New York World. Remington had based the sketch on second-hand descriptions.

Though lively and often sensational, the illustrations and reporting coming out of Cuba certainly had not influenced the course of history thus far. This situation changed in 1897 with the jailing of a beautiful woman named Evangelina Cisneros. Cisneros, the niece of the Cuban rebel president, was arrested and charged by the Spanish authorities with luring the Spanish Colonel Berris to her house. There, a group of men attempted to assassinate him. Cisneros, however, contended that he had made lustful propositions to her and that her friends had planned retribution.[15]

Convicted in August 1897 by a Spanish court, Cisneros was sentenced to a Spanish penal colony in Africa. The Journal jumped on the story, with Cisneros reaping all of the readers' sympathy. The paper even collected the signatures of ten thousand women throughout the United States petitioning for the young woman's release. Across the entire width of its front page, the paper displayed drawings of five prominent women, including Clara Barton and Mrs. Jefferson Davis, who supported Cisneros' release.[16]

Then, secretly, the Journal sent reporter Karl Decker to execute Evangelina's escape. On October 10, the Journal announced that Cisneros, the Cuban "girl martyr," had been rescued by the Journal's very own reporter.[17] On the day of the announcement, the Journal filled most of its front page with two drawings showing Cisneros before and after thirteen months of incarceration. On one side was a sketch of a beautiful woman; on the other, a drawing of a worn-looking convict. (See Fig. D.) Other illustrations showed Cisneros' jail cell and route of escape.

For the next seven days, the Journal milked every ounce of play the Cisneros rescue story could provide. On October 12, the paper ran a series of drawings depicting every stage of the event — from arrest to rescue —including scenes of Cisneros drugging her cellmates just before the breakout and escaping from her cell on a ladder over the roof to an adjoining building.

The paper followed on October 13 with a full, front-page drawing of President McKinley and his cabinet discussing the Cisneros escape. On the 14th, the paper showed Cisneros arriving in New York as well as her stateroom at the Waldorf Hotel. By the 15th, the paper commandeered three-fourths of its front page for a picture "drawn from life" of Karl Decker, the gallant reporter who performed the amazing rescue. The sketch showed Decker wearing a broad-brimmed hat and sporting a bushy mustache. On the 16th, the Journal hosted a huge rally in Madison Square for Cisneros.

The paper saved the "piece de resistance" for Sunday the 17th. Here was Cisneros' own diary, written especially for the Journal and illustrated with drawings depicting the jail cot where she had slept as well as the fork and spoon she had used to eat. Finally, from photos taken especially for the Sunday Journal and copyrighted by Hearst, the

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search of these women was conducted by women and not by men, as I was reported to have said and as I did not say in my original report of the incident."

[15]Brown, p. 98.

[16] The New York Journal, Aug. 22, 1897, p. 1.

[17] The New York Journal, Oct. 10, 1897, p. 1.

NEW YORK JOURNAL
AND ADVERTISER.

NEW YORK, SUNDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1897.—64 PAGES.

EVANGELINA CISNEROS RESCUED BY THE JOURNAL

An American Newspaper Accomplishes at a Single Stroke What the Red Tape of Diplomacy Failed Utterly to Bring About in Many Months.

MISS CISNEROS BEFORE AND AFTER THIRTEEN MONTHS' INCARCERATION.

THE RESCUED MARTYR IN HER PRISON GARB.

THE PETITION TO THE QUEEN.

To Her Majesty Maria Christina,
Queen Regent of Spain.

In the name of civilization and humanity, we, the undersigned American citizens, ask Your Majesty to extend your royal protection to Evangelina Cosio Cisneros, now lying in prison in Havana and threatened with a sentence of twenty years' imprisonment. We ask you to set this innocent young girl free and send her to live among the women of the United States.

Mrs. Benj. Harrison
Mrs. Wm. McKinley
Mrs. Grover Cleveland
Frances E. Willard
Julia J. Bracken Peck
Mrs. [illegible]

The Petition of Mother McKinley and the American Women to Queen Christina.

Figure D.

New York Journal, Oct 10, 1897 — page 1. The Journal's reporter, Karl Decker, executed Evangelina Cisneros's rescue and returned the woman to the United States. On the day of the announcement of the rescue, the Journal filled most of its front page with two drawings showing Cisneros before and after thirteen months of incarceration.

paper printed pictures showing Cisneros in her prison dress while re-enacting incidents from her escape. Photographed and then redrawn for reproduction, vignettes of each aspect of her ordeal illustrated the story.

Hearst knew how to get the most from a story. On the Cisneros series, he pulled out all the stops, blasting huge front-page drawings day after day. The drawings were based on the reporter's observations, descriptions by Cisneros and re-creations for the camera. Few tricks in Hearst's visual arsenal were left in the bag. In fact, few stories in the history of journalism have received this kind of picture-play.

Although Hearst gave the story unlimited play, not every paper followed the lead. While the Journal devoted 375 news columns to the Cisneros story, the World gave it only twelve and one-half columns, the Times ten and the Herald only one.[18] However, the Journal's massive hype to the story had the effect of arousing the American public against Spain.

But the Cisneros rescue was merely a warm-up for what was in store less than a year later for readers of the Journal and the World.

Following riots by Cuban citizens in Havana, the United States dispatched the *U.S.S. Maine*, an American battleship, on January 24, 1898. The mission to Havana, Cuba was supposed to be a friendly one — simply to ensure that U.S. citizens and their property were not endangered.

> "Havana, Feb. 15 -- At 9:45 this evening a terrible explosion took place on board the United States battle-ship (sic) *Maine* in Havana Harbor.
>
> Many were killed or wounded... As yet the cause of the explosion is not apparent.
>
> It is believed the battle-ship is destroyed...[19]

This shocking, straight-forward account occupied two long columns of type down the center of the New York Tribune's front page on February 16, 1898, the day following the explosion of the *U.S.S. Maine*. No photos, no drawings.

But by the second day following the explosion of the *U.S.S. Maine*, February 17, artists employed by Pulitzer's World and Hearst's Journal really had something to draw. The two most popular New York papers told the explosion's story in enormous headlines and dramatic illustrations. Each paper blasted the story across its entire front page.

The World's readers saw for themselves, as interpreted by sketch artists, the explosion of the American naval vessel. Shattered bodies flew from the ship in "a volcano of fire and showers of boats, bodies and guns." Sylvester Scovel, a World correspondent stationed in Havana, interviewed an eyewitness to the event and, before the Spanish government closed the outgoing telegraph lines, wired a detailed description of the scene to New York. In the offices of

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[18] Joseph E. Wisan, The Cuban Crisis as Reflected in the New York Press, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934) p. 331.

[19] The New York Tribune, Feb. 16, 1898, p. 1.

the World, an artist drew a sketch of the devastated *U.S.S. Maine* based on the facts and observations provided by Scovel's telegraphic dispatch. (See Fig. E.)

Although the artist back in New York had never seen the battleship, been to Cuba nor witnessed the damage, he drew a picture of a mighty ship being torn apart by a fiery explosion — with steel, rigging and bodies flying in every direction. While the more conservative dailies in New York played the story with small headlines and no art, the World gave its readers a front-row seat to the event. Almost as good as sitting in Havana Harbor.[20]

Not to be outdone by the competition, Hearst's Journal countered with an illustration/diagram running the entire width of its front page: a land-and-water overall of an unwary battleship *Maine* — depicted both above and below the water line. (See Fig. F.) It was a picture impossible for even today's sophisticated photographic technology to capture. Rather than showing the effects of the explosion, the Journal's drawing indicated how an explosive charge *might* have been attached to the underwater hull of the battleship and detonated from the shore by "dastardly" Spanish perpetrators. The headline of the day read, "Destruction of the warship Maine was the work of an enemy."[21]

On February 20, 1898, three days after the explosion, the World claimed to have 'the first actual' photograph of the wreck of the *Maine*.[22] (See Fig. G.) Hyping its own journalistic victory in bold type, the World wrote, "This photograph (the first published) was taken by the World's Staff Correspondent at Havana on Wednesday morning after the night explosion; the photograph left Havana by steamship *Olivette* at 2 P.M. Wednesday, arrived at Key West at 10:30..." The photo then went by boat to Tampa and by train to New York, arriving by 2:15 on Friday. In Saturday's paper, the World ran this headline: "Here are the FIRST ACTUAL PHOTOGRAPHS of the Wreck."

Only one problem.

The picture the World ran was not a photograph.

On careful inspection of the original, one could see the lines of the hand engraver. Also, the picture contained no halftone dots or regular-line pattern that would be necessary for the reproduction of a photograph. The newspaper had printed a hand artist's approximation based on a photograph — not a reproduction of the photo itself, as claimed.[23]

Was the World lying to its readers when it claimed to have published the first photograph of the *Maine* disaster? Or, did the paper's editors confuse a reproduction of a photo with a drawing from a photo. Until this time, the World had not used half-tone photos in its daily editions. In New York, only the Tribune had begun to reproduce photos regularly .[24] And it was the Tribune that was the first New York paper to run an actual picture of the disaster.

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[20] The World, Feb. 17,1898, p. 1.

[21] The New York Journal, Feb. 17, 1898, p. 1.

[22] The New York World, Feb. 20, 1898, p. 1.

[23] Schuneman, R.S. "The photograph in print: An examination of New York daily newspapers, 1890-1937." Thesis University of Minnesota, 1966, p. 203.

[24] Schuneman, pp. 203, 212.

The World. 863,956
Circulation Books Open to All
WORLDS CIRCULATED YESTERDAY
NEW YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1898 PRICE

MAINE EXPLOSION CAUSED BY BOMB OR TORPEDO?

Capt. Sigsbee and Consul-General Lee Are in Doubt---The World Has Sent a Special Tug, With Submarine Divers, to Havana to Find Out---Lee Asks for an Immediate Court of Inquiry---260 Men Dead.

IN A SUPPRESSED DESPATCH TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT THE CAPTAIN SAYS THE ACCIDENT WAS MADE POSSIBLE BY AN ENEMY.

Dr. E. C. Pendleton, Just Arrived from Havana, Says He Overheard Talk There of a Plot to Blow Up the Ship---Capt Zalinski, the Dynamite Expert, and Other Experts Report to The World that the Wreck Was Not Accidental---Washington Officials Ready for Vigorous Action if Spanish Responsibility Can Be Shown---Divers to Be Sent Down to Make Careful Examinations.

Figure E.

The New York World. Feb. 17, 1898 — p. 1. In the offices of the World, an artist drew a sketch of the exploding U.S.S. *Maine* based on the facts and observations provided by correspondent Sylvester Scovel's telegraphic dispatch. The drawing depicts bodies and debris being flung from the exploding vessel. The artist himself had never been to Cuba nor seen the ship.

$50,000 REWARD.—WHO DESTROYED THE MAINE?—$50,000 REWARD.

EDITION FOR GREATER NEW YORK

NEW YORK JOURNAL

AND ADVERTISER.

DESTRUCTION OF THE WAR SHIP MAINE WAS THE WORK OF AN ENEMY.

$50,000!

$50,000 REWARD!

For the Detection of the Perpetrator of the Maine Outrage!

Assistant Secretary Roosevelt Convinced the Explosion of the War Ship Was Not an Accident.

The Journal Offers $50,000 Reward for the Conviction of the Criminals Who Sent 258 American Sailors to Their Death. Naval Officers Unanimous That the Ship Was Destroyed on Purpose.

$50,000!

$50,000 REWARD!

For the Detection of the Perpetrator of the Maine Outrage!

NAVAL OFFICERS THINK THE MAINE WAS DESTROYED BY A SPANISH MINE.

Hidden Mine or a Sunken Torpedo Believed to Have Been the Weapon Used Against the American Man-of-War—Officers and Men Tell Thrilling Stories of Being Blown Into the Air Amid a Mass of Shattered Steel and Exploding Shells—Survivors Brought to Key West Scout the Idea of Accident—Spanish Officials Protest Too Much—Our Cabinet Orders a Searching Inquiry—Journal Sends Divers to Havana to Report Upon the Condition of the Wreck.

Was the Vessel Anchored Over a Mine?

BY CAPTAIN [illegible] ZALINSKI, U. S. N.

Figure F.

The New York Journal, Feb. 17, 1898. — p. 1. Hearst's Journal ran an illustration/diagram running the entire width of its front page: a land-and-water overall of an unwary battleship *Maine* — depicted both above and below the water line. The drawing shows how the Spanish might have attached an explosive charge to the underwater hull of the battleship and detonated the bomb from the shore. The picture would be impossible for even today's sophisticated photographic technology to capture.

NEXT Sunday's World. A Revelation in Newspaper Making.

The World.

"Circulation Books Open to All."

1367

"Circulation Books Open to All." Over the Te

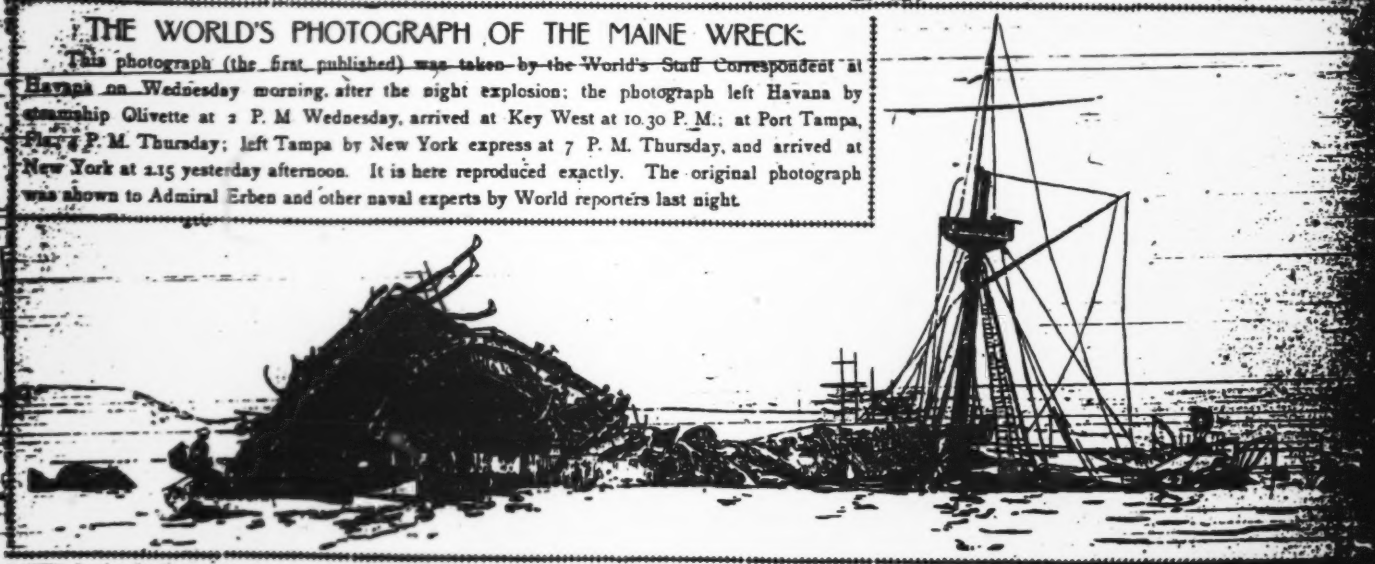
VOL. XXXVIII. NO. 13,368. PRICE FIVE CENTS. NEW YORK, SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1898. PRICE FIVE

THE WORLD'S LATEST DISCOVERIES INDICATE MAINE WAS BLOWN UP BY SUBMARINE MIN

Here Are the FIRST ACTUAL PHOTOGRAPHS of the Wreck

THE WORLD'S PHOTOGRAPH OF THE MAINE WRECK.

This photograph (the first published) was taken by the World's Staff Correspondent at Havana on Wednesday morning, after the night explosion; the photograph left Havana by steamship Olivette at 2 P. M. Wednesday, arrived at Key West at 10.30 P. M.; at Port Tampa, Fla., 4 P. M. Thursday; left Tampa by New York express at 7 P. M. Thursday, and arrived at New York at 2.15 yesterday afternoon. It is here reproduced exactly. The original photograph was shown to Admiral Erben and other naval experts by World reporters last night.



REAR-ADMIRAL HENRY ERBEN'S COMMENT ON THE ABOVE PICTURE WHEN SHOWN THE ORIGINAL PHOTOGRA

NOTES ON THE WORLD'S PHOTO.

NOTHING BUT A MINE COULD HAVE BLOWN UP THE BATTLE-SHIP.

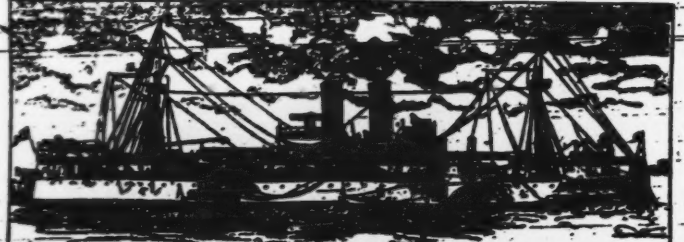
Spanish Naval Officers May Have Mistaken the Exploding for the Testing Key of the Submarine Battery.

MAINE WAS ONLY ONCE BEFORE IN THE SAME POSITION, BUT THEN BY MOONLIGHT.

HAVANA, via Key West, Fla., Feb. 19.—Every indication so far as cabled shows that nothing could have destroyed the Maine so completely but a submerged mine of great size.

While the Spanish naval officer in charge may have the exploding key or a duplicate here, [illegible]

THE MAINE AS SHE WAS



point of greatest destruction, and the many other facts cited, on them the cabled fact may be accepted that the Maine was destroyed by a mine exploded under the ship's bottom by the Spanish Government's submarine battery.

[illegible] could not explode. It is distinctly known that no other explosive in Havana.

No movable torpedo could have done the damage.

These are the opinions of naval experts and experts in explosives to-day.

PRESIDENT AROUSED TO DARK SITUATION. WAR SPIRIT RISES.

World's Notes of the Evidence of the Maine Changed the Feeling Throughout the Country.

TELEGRAMS POUR UPON NATIONAL [illegible]

Demands for a Fair Investigation into the Explosion Without Official Wish That It Be Found Mine Accident.

Figure G.

The New York World, Feb. 20, 1898. — p. 1. The World claimed to publish the first actual photograph of the *U.S.S. Maine*'s wreckage. What the World printed, however, was not a photograph but rather a drawing.

Drawn illustrations, some historians have said, served the purposes of Pulitzer and Hearst far better than photographs could. Photographs would not have allowed the competing publishers to include their own imagined conclusions. Rather than presenting the explosion as a possible accident, the Journal's illustration on February 17 (See Fig. F.) showed a mine being attached to the hull of the ship. The picture clearly indicated that sabotage had occurred. Before the United States Board of Inquiry could investigate the explosion and determine if the cause was accidental, the Journal had literally drawn its own conclusions about the cause of the disaster.

When the United States declared war on Spain two months later, in April 1898, certainly the destruction of the *U.S.S. Maine* served as the war's immediate cause. But the declaration was simply the final act in a carefully arranged drama of war propaganda. The stage had been set with three years of relentless newspaper crusades against the Spanish. Both news and pictures had deep effects on the public. Sensing the American public's reaction to the explosion — a reaction carefully molded by the nation's foremost journalistic playwrights — the hesitant McKinley administration declared war on a nation already on the verge of collapse from internal strife and rebellion.

The "DECLARATION OF WAR" announced by Pulitzer's World on April 17, 1898 also fueled the circulation war between New York's most colorful dailies. The World sold 1,300,000 copies on that day.

The visual coverage of the *Maine* disaster was the high water mark for drawn illustrations in newspapers. The demise of this form of journalism was noted when the World headlined that it had the first photos of the news event. Even though the photos were redrawn for the paper, editors recognized the camera's power to produce a record of an event unaltered by human hands. While the war was taking place, newspapers began using actual photos. The heyday of the artist as journalist ended.

PART II: PHOTOGRAPHERS COVER THE WAR

On the battlefields of the New York newsstands, sketch artists with their illustrations provided most of the fodder for journalistic cannons. But on San Juan Hill and other battlefields, a new breed of journalistic hero was emerging.

Although Hearst initially sent artists such as Remington to cover the war after the *Maine* explosion, he also commissioned photographers like J.C. Hemment to record the wreckage and the ensuing fighting. For the first time in history, newspapers and magazines dispatched photographers to the front to send home photographs for publication.

J.C. Hemment covered the war for Hearst and for Leslie's magazine; a photographer named Taylor shot for the World; and an upstart named Jimmy Hare (See Fig. H.) sold his services to Collier's magazine for $5 a week and expenses.[25]

Hare and Hemment, who both wrote about their adventures, represented yet another war that was taking place simultaneously. Players in the war of 19th vs. 20th century photojournalistic style, one carried into battle traditional cameras and film, the other the most advanced technology of the day.

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[25]Cecil Carnes, Jimmy Hare, News Photographer: Half a Century with a Camera (New York: Macmillan, 1940) p. 12.

Figure H.
In the case slung over his shoulder, Jimmy Hare carried a Kodak folding camera that used roll film and could shoot 12 pictures. Its 'fast' f/6.8 lens meant Hare could easily leave his tripod at home. In addition, Hare carried a box Kodak camera that could shoot 100 4 X 5 inch pictures before reloading was required.

According to one story, Hare and Hemment met at least once when they were both covering the battle of San Juan Hill. During the battle, the Spanish artillery was exploding everywhere. Shrapnel and bullets were flying, wounded soldiers were crying out in pain. No one was sure how the battle was going nor who was winning.

Under these conditions, Hare met up with Hemment at the bottom of San Juan Hill. Both had been photographing the action. In attendance on Hemment was a Japanese servant, who held an open umbrella in one hand, which he was holding over J. C.'s head; in the other, the servant carried a heavy lunch basket.

"Won't you join me in a bite?" Hemment asked. "There's fried chicken, I believe, and I even have napkins."

The napkins clinched it, and a half-starved Jimmy accepted the invitation.[26]

Besides the personal Japanese servant, Hemment, the dean of the old-school news photographers, also carried along three sizes of view cameras: a 6 x 10 inch camera, which he judged would be best for all-around field work; an 11 X 14 inch camera, which he thought would be useful for wide shots of naval operations; and a 12 X 20 inch camera with a long focus lens that would enable him to take pictures from twice the distance as the 11 X 14. He also lugged along 576 glass plate negatives. The size of even his smallest camera — 6 x 10 inch — was gigantic, even without considering the weight of the glass plate negatives. Furthermore, the camera was best used on a tripod, and it was necessary to change film plates between each photo.[27]

Small wonder Hemment needed an assistant.

Hare, by contrast, operated alone. Although he grew up in a family of traditional camera craftsmen, Hare had broken with tradition to select the latest in small cameras for his Collier's assignment in Cuba.[28]

Hare already had worked as a news photographer for the Illustrated American, a magazine published in New York, covering such assignments as the inauguration of President William McKinley and the "The Great Hudson River Railway Wreck." His most frequent assignment, sporting events, had trained him to catch the action at just the right moment. A month after a fire at the Illustrated American's old headquarters, Hare went to work for Collier's.

In Cuba, Hare carried a folding camera that took roll film — two by four inch negatives. With each roll, he could shoot 12 pictures. Moreover, the camera folded so compactly that it readily disappeared from sight into a pocket — and its 'fast' f/6.8 lens meant he could easily leave the tripod at home. In addition, Hare carried a box Kodak camera that could shoot 100 4 X 5 inch pictures before reloading was required.[29] The only drawback to the Kodak was that he had to reload the film in total darkness.

On a grassy plateau just outside the range of artillery, Hare and Hemment sat eating fried chicken and comparing equipment while the battle of San Juan Hill raged nearby.

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[26] Ibid., p. 66.

[27] John C. Hemment, Cannon and Camera (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1898) p. 62.

[28] Carnes, p. 13.

[29] Ibid.

Hemment, with his large view camera, carried the finest equipment of the day. But his cameras were essentially very similar to those used since the invention of photography in the 1840s. Exquisitely sharp photographs required big and bulky equipment. Not the ideal camera for covering a fast-moving war. Hare, on the other hand, brought the latest in new equipment. Although not necessarily designed for the photojournalist, the equipment was light, convenient to transport, easy to handle. Thus, Hare was flexible to move quickly and alone.

In this turn-of-the-century shoot out, Hemment can be considered the news photographer of the old school, while Hare, in his approach to photography and choice of equipment, represents perhaps the first true modern-day photojournalist.

From the beginning, they were a study in contrasts.

J.C. Hemment sailed into Cuban waters on William Randolph Hearst's chartered yacht, the *Sylvia*, in which had been fashioned a darkroom that Hemment called a "rather improvised affair, but at the same time it was quite convenient." Hemment had appropriated the spacious second-cabin dining room of the *Sylvia*, darkened all the windows with red muslin, installed an electric fan, fitted tables with baths and made other arrangements for developing, until "we had a place which would do credit to many studios in New York."[30] (See Fig. I.)

To assure processing the films in the intense Cuban heat, which caused the film to come apart, the *Sylvia* carried a large supply of block ice. On the yacht and despite a choppy sea that made for unsteady footing, Hemment could develop and print up to three dozen photographs in an evening.[31]

By contrast, the mobile Hare lacked an ice supply and would process his films in the field by spraying them with alcohol as they dried. But having shot his pictures on rolls of film with multiple negatives, Hare wasn't confined to his darkroom for nearly so long as his rival.

Poor Hemment, when not aboard his yacht processing film, lugged his cameras, glass plates and his assistant to the battlefields. He wrote of one of these forays:

"Following along in the rear of the Third Brigade, I made up my mind that I wanted some pictures and I wanted them, badly; but no one can conceive of the difficulties of making pictures of men in action." [32]

In fact, old Hemment framed his photos from under the cool shade of an umbrella held by his assistant, Jim, who handed the photographer each glass plate when needed. And only a Leslie's photographer could stop for lunch with sandwiches and a half dozen bottles of ginger ale — a luxury that none but a Hearst man could command.

When covering the charge at El Caney, a fort and blockhouse occupied by Spanish soldiers, Hemment expressed the lament of every photographer caught shooting in the fading afternoon light.

"It was now becoming quite late, and cloudy in the extreme. In fact, for the past two hours the weather had not been good for making photographs. But what a delightful scene this would have been! Here the pen had the

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[30] Hemment, p. 99.

[31] Ibid., p. 103.

[32] Ibid., p.160.

Figure I.
Hemment had appropriated the spacious second-cabin dining room of the Sylvia, Hearst's yacht, darkened all the windows with red muslin, installed an electric fan, fitted tables with baths and made other arrangements for developing, until "we had a place which would do credit to many studios in New York." To assure processing the films in the intense Cuban heat, which caused the film to come apart, the Sylvia carried a large supply of block ice.

advantage of the camera's eye. What an inspiring picture to have impressed upon a negative — the soldiers making this noble charge! Fate, however, was against me."[33]

Despite the photographic hardships, Hemment took many pictures during the war. Leslie's ran 450 photographs of the war, most taken by Hemment.[34]

The majority of these, however, did not capture battle action and were, in fact, taken behind the front lines. Some of Hemment's photos depicted captured prisoners,[35] while others showed soldiers going into battle.[36] He also photographed the wounded of the Ninth Cavalry waiting for ambulances.[37] Other Hemment pictures showed the 71st Regiment crossing the river at San Juan.[38] (See Fig. J.)

Hemment did try — rather unsuccessfully — to photograph soldiers in actual battle. For instance, he captioned one of his pictures, "Cuban soldiers dodging shrapnel while looking for dead and wounded."[39] (See Fig. L.) Yet the soldiers are standing upright! The men are so small in the frame they hardly stand out. Not a face is visible, and the soldiers' body language hardly indicates great tension. The photo reveals no feeling of action. In fact, the soldiers blend into the undergrowth and look more as if they are taking a Sunday stroll than dodging Spanish bullets.

In another action photo of the Rough Riders "reconnoitering" in front of El Pozo, a Spanish-held fort,[40] soldiers, photographed from the rear, blend into the surrounding undergrowth. Hardly a revealing picture of men at war.

In fact, Hemment's one photo that does portray soldiers in action was posed. (See Fig. N.) Hemment had to induce Spanish prisoners to return to their trenches to demonstrate fighting techniques. The Spanish soldiers are pointing guns as they pretend to shoot the enemy.[41] Leslie's published this picture on page one of its August 11 issue.[42]

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[33] Ibid., p. 171.

[34] David Jay Gervich, "Leslie's Weekly's Pictorial Coverage of the Spanish-American War" Master's thesis, University of Missouri, 1970, p. 99.

[35] Hemment, facing p. 173.

[36] Ibid., facing p. 139.

[37] Ibid., facing p. 158.

[38] Ibid., facing p. 142.

[39] Ibid., facing p. 155.

[40] Ibid., facing p. 151.

[41] Gervich, p. 74.

[42] Leslie's Weekly, Aug. 11, 1898, p. 1.

Figure J.

Leslie's ran 450 photographs of the war, most taken by Hemment. Like most of Hemment's Spanish-American War photographs, this one depicts a non-battle moment — the Seventy-first Regiment crossing the river at San Juan in preparation for battle. Compare Hemment's distance from the men and the composition of the photograph to Hare's photograph of the advancing soldiers on San Juan Hill.

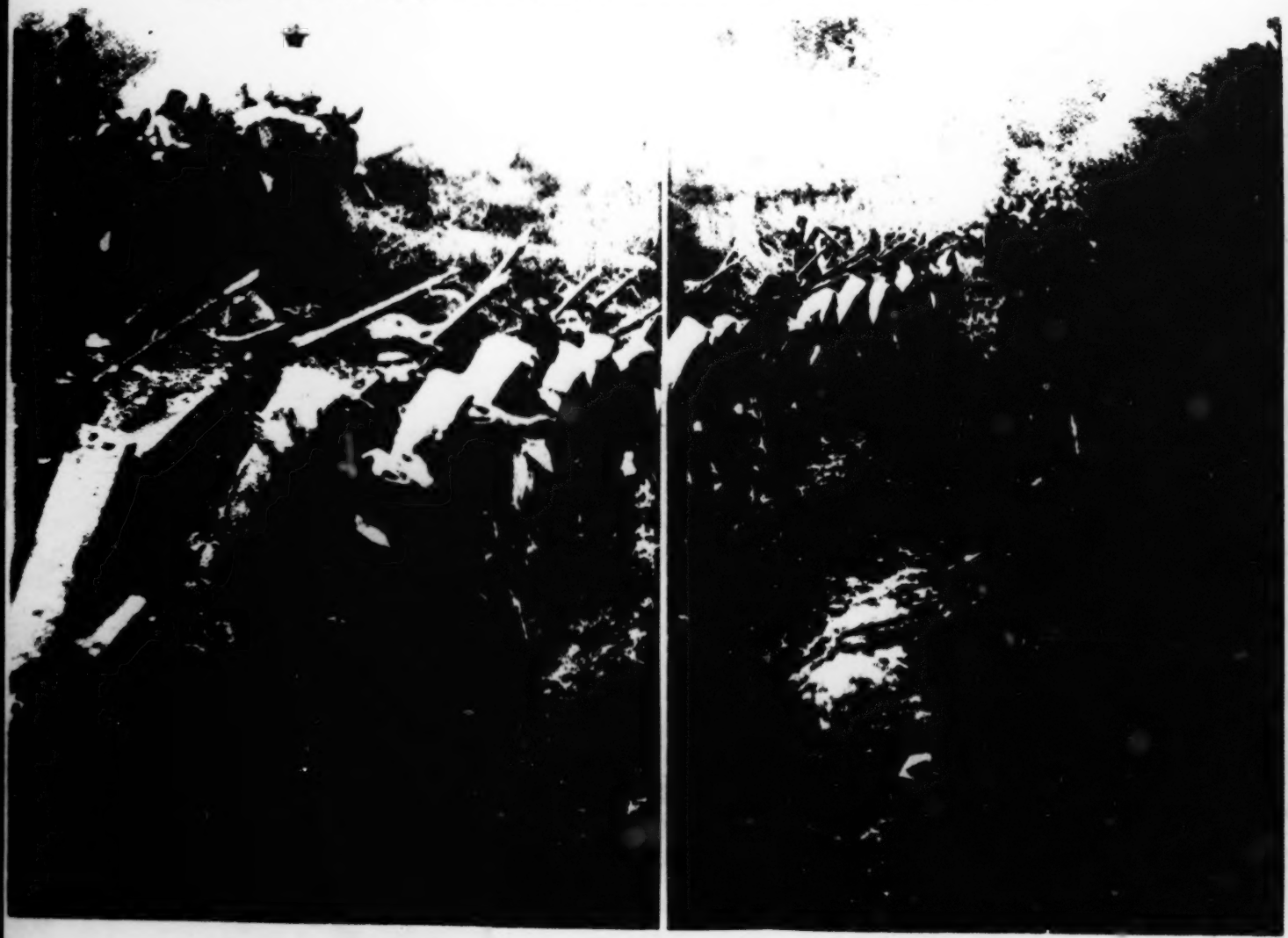

Figure K.

Hare stayed ahead of marching soldiers to photograph their early morning advance to the battle front at San Juan. Note that to take the picture he climbed upon the ledge to the right to compose the picture in a more exciting way.

Figure N.
Although Hemment captioned this photograph "Spanish soldiers in the trenches at El Caney," he was never behind Spanish lines to take such a picture. He apparently induced Spanish prisoners to pose for the photograph. Leslie's published the photograph on page one of its Aug. 11 issue.

Hemment himself observed that his battle scenes lacked the verve and excitement he had hoped for. He writes, "The pictures made nowadays do not convey to the reader the same romantic spectacle that one is accustomed to seek and find in past war pictures, for the use of smokeless powder has taken away the effect of clouds of dense smoke." He goes on to fantasize that "if a shutter can be made fast enough to take the bullets as they whiz through the air, then war scenes may again become very vivid, picturesque, and romantic."[43]

Although Hemment's photos were of actual battles — compared to those of the Civil War photographer Matthew Brady and his assistants almost fifty years earlier (who could only shoot posed scenes before or after a conflict) — Hemment's photography broke no new ground in war photoreportage.

The work of Jimmy Hare, on the other hand, presents an important change in covering battle action. The publisher of Collier's magazine once wrote that "when the *Maine* BLEW UP, Jimmy Hare BLEW IN. Both were major explosions."[44] Hare, with his relatively small cameras, could move easily and quickly to the edge of the fighting.

Unlike Hemment, Hare did not pine for the days of smoking guns. Instead, he ventured as near the action as possible. Observing Hare at the peak of a battle, taking pictures on the firing line, an American soldier said, "You must be a congenital damn fool to be up here. I wouldn't be (up here) unless I had to!" Hare replied, "Neither would I, but you can't get real pictures unless you take some risk!"[45]

On July 1, 1898, Hare rose early to a cloudless blue sky to take some risks. On that day, he would take repeated chances to record the first photographs of men in the act of killing one another. Hare spent the morning under fire, gathering pictures of advancing soldiers (See Fig. K.) and of stretcher bearers with wounded soldiers. At noon, he lunched on fried chicken with his rival, J. C. Hemment. Then, probably while Hemment returned to the Hearst yacht to process his film in ice-cooled chemicals,[46] Hare ventured back to San Juan Hill.

On his way, Hare was a bit uncertain about the route to the front, until he adopted the plan of following in reverse the path by which the wounded were being brought back down the hill.

Straight ahead, looming through a purplish haze of smoke and heat, Hare could discern the enemy blockhouse — the objective of all this bloody effort. He had delayed snapping any pictures, partly because the tall grass hid his subjects most of the time and partly because of the angle at which he would have to photograph the soldiers when they did come into view. Hare could see nothing artistic or inspiring in the rear end of a soldier lying on his stomach.

"That sort of thing might do for Hearst," he later wrote, "or even for Pulitzer of the World, but Collier's catered to a more critical clientele."[47]

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[43] Hemment, pp. 268-269.

[44] Carnes, p. 12.

[45] Ibid., p. 2.

[46] Hemment, p. 35.

[47] Carnes, p. 68.

Hare thought to himself that if only he could get ahead of those soldiers for a few minutes and snap them as they crawled toward the camera, that would be worthwhile. The downpour of bullets seemed to be lessening, he thought. He decided to chance the danger of being hit and sprinted forward, up the slope of San Juan Hill.

In a moment or two, he was where he wanted to be — some yards in advance of the foremost American troops! He turned quickly to face them and made several exposures as the men crawled on their bellies toward him. (See Fig. M.) Then, back down the hill he scurried, covering several hundred yards before turning and making a panoramic shot of the whole battlefield.

Continuing down the hill, Hare ran into Stephen Crane, the famous author and war correspondent for Hearst's Journal. With a little encouragement from Crane, Hare returned to the battle with the writer via a different route from the one the photographer had followed earlier.

Crane in his War Memories described Hare's reaction during the battle.

"...the crash of the Spanish fire became uproarious, and the air simply whistled." Crane heard "a quavering voice nearby and beheld Jimmie —Jimmie — with a face bloodless, white as paper."[48]

At an elbow of the San Juan River, they came upon "the Bloody Bend," where a hundred broken men lay receiving first aid. The slight overhang of the river's bank afforded only partial shelter, and many of the wounded were hit again as they lay there. Hare's pictures show the tangle of the dying and the dead. (See Fig. O.)[49]

As the day wore on, Hare separated from Crane and hiked from San Juan Hill to Kettle Hill. He approached the hill steadily and half-erect, his camera held before him, ready for instant use.

Luckily, Hare was relatively short, five foot two inches, making him less of a target than he might have been. He slid into a trench. Leaden pellets were continually striking the strands of barbed wire overhead, and Hare decided that the enemy was shooting at a high angle, thus providing him some protection. He stood up and carefully aimed his camera. An angry voice at his elbow promptly ordered him down. But before he followed the order, Hare took the picture.

Having the audacity to take a picture in direct disregard of a colonel's order, Hare prepared to take yet a second frame. Neither fear of bullets nor of colonels could stop this intrepid photographer. Not until Colonel Wood of the Rough Riders tapped Hare with the flat of his sword and repeated his command in unmistakable terms did Hare retreat, lowering himself into the trench.[50] But as usual, Hare had his picture — close to his subject and from an angle uncovered by his competition.

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[48]R. W. Stallman and E. R. Hagermann, Eds. The War Dispatches of Stephen Crane (New York: New York University Press, 1964), p. 284.

[49] Lewis L. Gould, Richard Greffe, Photojournalist: The Career of Jimmy Hare (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1977) p. 25.

[50]Carnes, p. 3.

Figure O.
The "Bloody Bend," at an elbow of the San Juan River, afforded only partial shelter for a hundred broken men receiving first aid. Many of the wounded were hit again as they lay there. Hare's picture show the tangle of the dying and the dead.

Jimmy Hare personifies many of the characteristics of outstanding photojournalists to follow in his path. He was the first of the modern photo reporters — photographers who would go anywhere for the story, take risks, seek adventure, and display a competitive edge. In addition to these personal qualities, Hare had adopted the latest technology — the folding cameras and roll film — in a business that is constantly searching for new and better ways of making pictures. And unlike "old J.C. Hemment himself," Hare had correctly chosen the small hand camera for his work. The two individuals — in their contrasting equipment and approaches to photography — represented a fundamental change taking place in photojournalism. (See Figs. J and K and L and M for direct comparisons of the photographers' styles.)

Back in the newsroom, a more dramatic change in the field of visual journalism was in the works. Drawings and illustrations used by the Journal and the World reached their zenith during this period. Entire front pages had been filled with drawings of exploding ships and naked women. Drawings of illustrators like Frederic Remington and Howard Christy were often more exciting than photographs of the same scene.

Compare, for example, Remington's drawings of Grimes' battery charging Pozo Hill (Fig. P) to Hare's actual photograph of Grimes' battery (Fig.Q). Remington's drawing depicts men standing in stirrups, cracking whips as the horses beneath them galloped and strained to pull the cannon up the hill. Hare's photo of the battle, by contrast, shows a slightly blurry photo of the back of a soldier standing beside a cannon. No photos taken during the war compare to Remington's depiction of a bayonet charge. (See Fig. R.)

However, the Spanish-American War was the first time that photographs of a major news event were published. And although drawings were often far more exciting than even Hare's documentary photographs, subsequent news events would be covered by the evolving technology of photography.

Over the next twenty years, the photographs of Hemment, Hare and others like them gradually replaced hand-drawn illustrations. Developed since the American Revolution, the art of the journalistic engraver would become a mechanical activity, putting out of work many masters of the craft. The trend toward the direct use of photographs in the daily newspapers was clear. In a study of turn-of-the-century New York newspapers, R. S. Schuneman found that in 1900, 60 percent of the published images were hand art and 40 percent were halftone photographs. By 1910, only 12 percent were hand-drawn art. By 1920, photographs had virtually replaced hand art in newspapers.[51] Not until the use of information graphics in the 1980s, more than a three-quarters of a century later, would illustrators regain consistent and prominent front-page play in American newspapers.

But of perhaps even wider impact was the new role played by both drawings and photographs in coverage of this war.

From the colonial era in American journalism, editors had reported news and written editorials. Not until the Spanish-American War did they grasp the possibility of using visuals as a tool to stimulate public opinion. Pulitzer and Hearst had developed the use of sensational pictures to cover local murders and scandals, but the Spanish-American War allowed the two rivals to use their newfound circulation stimulants on an international story.

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[51] Schuneman, p. 98.

Figure L.
While this photograph may have been taken in battle, as Hemment claimed, the moment could hardly have been at the height of gunfire. From a comfortable distance, Hemment photographed the soldiers standing upright, for all practical appearances out for a Sunday stroll.

Figure M.
Unencumbered by tripods, large cameras and heavy glass plates, Hare scrambled ahead of the troops charging San Juan Hill to photograph them as they crawled forward on their bellies.

Figure P.
Remington's drawing depicts men standing in stirrups, cracking whips as the horses beneath them galloped and strained to pull the cannon up Pozo Hill, far more exciting than Hare's photo of the same battle (Fig. Q.).

Figure Q.
While an important record, Hare's slightly blurry photo of the battle raging on Pozo Hill only shows the back of a soldier standing beside a cannon.

Figure R.

No photos taken during the war compare to Remington's depiction of a bayonet charge. To achieve Remington's angle, the photographer would have had to be behind enemy lines to photograph American soldiers charging over a wall. Remington's imagination, however, was not limited by battle lines.

Even before the first American shots had been fired, Pulitzer and Hearst were calling on their own endless arsenals of screaming type and enormous, detailed illustrations to whip up public opinion against Spain. Illustrations such as Remington's sketches of Spanish soldiers disrobing an American woman were used by the New York publishers to excite the American public to a war frenzy.

The daily barrage of pictures played by Hearst and Pulitzer, as well as the extensive coverage by Leslie's, Harper's and Collier's and other magazines, fired up the country's patriotic outrage. Some historians have even said the war would never have taken place had Hearst and Pulitzer not been in their own ferocious battle for circulation.

During that circulation drive, these publishers discovered the power of pictures not just to entertain but to mold public opinion — a discovery few politicians today would dispute.